Spellman's Letters

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THE MILITANT

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Soviet Advances Cast Shadow On Moscow Parley

Despite Mutual Fear of Revolution, Allies And Stalin Can't Agree On European Setup

By Felix Morrow

After a brief lull, the Red Army offensive last week took on new momentum. Bridgeheads were thrown across the Dnieper — a move which could have been undertaken only with the expectation of launching a drive across the Dnieper which, if at all comparable to the last one, would bring the Red forces to the Soviet frontiers of 1940.

What will the Soviet Union do then? That is the question hanging over the preparations for the coming U. S.-British-Soviet conference in Moscow.

The full scope of the differences facing the conference was indicated last week by the *N. Y. Times*. An Oct. 10 editorial referred to "the different approach to the European problem by the Western allies on the one hand and Russia on the other," and the "lack of an understanding between the Western allies and Russia on a common European policy."

This formulation is quite correct. The basic issue is not piecemeal differences over Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, the Baltic area, etc., but involves the European continent as a whole.

But the Times is tendentious in formulating the difference as one between the "democracies" who are interested in "winning the war first" and Soviet-supported forces who "are as much interested in fighting for 'the revolution' as for a common victory."

Were that actually the issue, the capitalists could hope to achieve nothing at all at the Moscow conference. For there can be no common ground between the proponents of a capitalist Europe and the proponents of the European socialist revolution.

BASIS FOR AGREEMENT

The Moscow conference is possible precisely because Washington and London understand that Stalin does not want a socialist revolution any more than do his capitalist allies. Speeches and insertions in the Congressional Record last week by Representatives Rankin and Sabath underlined this point.

Rankin on Oct. 4 assured Congress that "Russia has abolished the Trotsky commissars," "has torn down the streamer that Trotsky placed across the gates of Moscow that 'religion is the opium of the people,'" and introduced capitalist-type military discipline "instead of every man greeting his superior officer merely as 'comrade.'" Rankin concluded that the Kremlin has no revolutionary designs on Europe. Similar conclusions were drawn by Sabath quoting Rickenbacker's report that the USSR was "moving to the right."

Another Congressman, John M. Coffee of Washington, likewise sought to reassure his colleagues by citing an editorial from the Sept. 24 St. Louis Post-Dispatch. This editorial stated:

"The Post-Dispatch learns on very high authority that Stalin definitely does not want a bolshevist Germany after the war. This is because he fears that once Germany turned Communist, [it] would try, as did Trotsky, to start a world-wide Communist movement that might reduce Stalin's stature and perhaps threaten his position."

The central fact that Stalin fears the German and European revolution is indubitable and well-understood in Washington and London.

THE BASIC CONFLICT

But Stalin and the bureaucratic clique that he heads are not the same thing as the Soviet Union. That, too, is understood by Roosevelt and Churchill. They know that Stalin's dictatorial regime rests on the nationalized property created by the October revolution.

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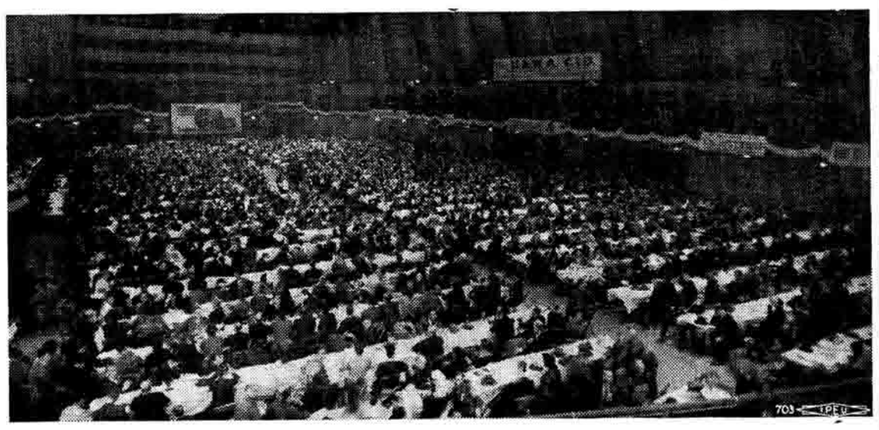
Prepare Supreme Court Appeal

Among the important questions which the U. S. Supreme Court will consider in its present session is the petition of the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis labor trial asking the highest court to review the recent Circuit Court decision upholding the convictions and to pass on the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Act under which the defendants are the first to be convicted.

Attorney Albert Goldman for the defendants and attorney Osmund K. Fraenkel of the American Civil Liberties Union are now preparing this petition which will be filed within the next two weeks with the Supreme Court. A national campaign to publicize the issues involved and raise the necessary funds for the appeal has been launched by the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

Auto Workers Fight 'Sacrifice' Policies But Support Roosevelt

Biggest Union at Work in Convention



This official convention picture of the eighth annual gathering of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Farm Implement Workers Union, CIO, shows the 2,000 odd union delegates transacting the business of the world's largest and most aggressive labor union at Buffalo's huge Memorial Auditorium. The UAW is past the million mark and still growing.

Convention Defeats Incentive Pay Plan; Officers Win Renewal No-Strike Pledge

Delegates Disgusted With Unprincipled Struggle of Addes and Reuther Factions, Reject Bid of Both for Sole Union Control

By Art Preis

BUFFALO, Oct. 10.—The 2,000-odd delegates to the eighth annual convention of the CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers Union concluded their seven days of deliberation at the huge Memorial Auditorium here this afternoon in an atmosphere of weariness, apathy and disgust with the top union leadership.

For six days the convention was sidetracked into a discussion of secondary issues. Two whole days were consumed by the top leadership in a bitter unprincipled clique fight for posts. Only late in the final session were the delegates at last given the opportunity to discuss the basic issues that concern them, the Little Steel formula, the War Labor Board and the no-strike pledge.

The fundamental identity of policy and program of the Reuther-Leonard and the Addes-Frankensteen - Stalinist factions was glaringly revealed in the last hours of the convention when both cliques combined to pass a resolution to "reaffirm without any qualifications" the no-strike pledge.

As an obvious sop to the dissatisfaction of the UAW ranks, the resolution contained a hypocritical protest of the anti-labor policies of the War Labor Board and the corporations which have "frequently and flagrantly taken advantage of labor's voluntary no-strike commitment" and made the futile gesture that "in those plants where management is not bargaining in good faith" the International Executive Board "shall in order to insure continuous production demand government operation of such plants."

DELEGATES DISSATISFIED

The resolution failed to answer the question uppermost in many delegates minds of what the workers should do if the government refused to take over such plants, or took some over and operated them to protect the interests of the bosses.

The tremendous dissatisfaction of the convention delegates was highlighted by the completely apathetic response to the impassioned patriotic pleas for adoption of the no-strike resolution by President R. J. Thomas, Secretary-Treasurer George F. Addes and Resolutions Committee Chairman Victor Reuther.

Not a rank and file voice was raised in favor of the resolution. The only spontaneous response from the floor came when Delegate Emil Mazey, of Briggs Local 212, Detroit, received considerable applause at the conclusion of a strong plea to rescind the no-strike pledge.

When the actual vote was taken, hundreds of delegates abstained from voting, reluctant either to support the no-strike resolution or to put themselves on the spot in opposition to the entire international leadership and the government.

REUTHER'S DOUBLE-CROSS

Many delegates, who had mistakenly believed that Walter Reuther was going to support a "conditional" form of the no-strike pledge, were left in complete bewilderment. They had hoped for introduction of a resolution which would enable the workers to support the no-strike pledge "in general," but leave a loop-hole for rescinding it in individual plants where management "refuses to bargain in good faith." But Reuther left these trusting militants holding the bag.

In the actual voting about 600 hands were raised in favor of the no-strike pledge, but a surprisingly strong block of about 200 votes were openly cast against it. **Following the hand vote, representatives of powerful locals, including Flint Buick Local 599, Flint Chevrolet Local 659, and Lansing Olds Local 652 informed the convention that they were recording the unanimous vote of their delegations against the no-strike resolution.**

The overwhelming bulk of the delegations from Toledo Local 12, fourth largest in the country, Long Island Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, one of the ten largest, and other sizable locals such as Detroit Briggs Local 212, Chicago Buick Local 6 and Buffalo Bell Aircraft Local 501 also voted against reaffirming the no-strike pledge.

MILITANTS OUT ON LIMB

The convention's continued support of the no-strike pledge was unenthusiastic, reluctant and reflected obvious misgivings. No cheers were raised when the no-strike resolution carried this time as is typical in UAW conventions when popular positions are endorsed.

That the militants in the convention failed to put forward a stronger and more aggressive fight on the no-strike issue was due in part to their inability to force the issue before the convention until the very last moment, when many of the rank and file delegates had already left for home in weariness and disgust, and most of the remainder were anxious to adjourn as quickly as possible.

The fundamental reason for this failure, however, was the lack of adequate leadership and organization among the genuine militants. Pinning their hopes on the "progressive" Reuther, who merely accepted their votes for office but cynically repudiated them on the basic issues, the militants found themselves left out on a limb after the convention elections were over.

Above all, the fight on the no-

(Continued on page 2)

UAW-CIO Committee Backs Postal Plea

BUFFALO, Oct. 10 — A resolution in support of Kelly Postal and calling for his release from prison was reported out favorably by the UAW convention resolutions committee.

Although this resolution, with others that the convention had insufficient time to act upon, was not finally adopted at the convention itself, it was referred to the incoming International Executive Board which is almost certain to adopt it upon the resolutions committee's recommendation.

The resolution is similar to the one passed several months ago by the Michigan State CIO convention.

Italian Generals Turned Workers Over To Nazis

Workers Demanded Arms, Badoglio's General Made Promises, But Betrayed Them

How Badoglio's officers, asked for arms by the Italian workers for use against the Nazis, deliberately betrayed the workers and turned them over to the Nazis, has now been authoritatively told by *Libera Stampa*, Italian-language anti-fascist newspaper of Lugano (Switzerland.)

In a report from Turin, the Oct. 1 *Libera Stampa* describes what happened in that city when the workers learned that the armistice had been declared between the Allies and the Badoglio regime:

"The workers through their leaders suspended work in the big factories. . .to assume. . . the armed defense of their city" against the Nazi troops who were outside the city.

"But they needed arms. Representatives of the Turin workers therefore called on the commander of the Turin garrison, [Badoglio's appointee] General Adamirossi, and asked for arms to repel an eventual attack on the part of German armored troops which they knew were advancing on Turin.

"The workers' representatives assumed full responsibility for the distribution of arms to their organized supporters, promising not to give them to suspicious elements.

"General Adamirossi courteously asked them to be patient during the few hours necessary for transportation and delivery of the arms.

"However, a tragic betrayal was being prepared: the workers' leaders were handed over to the Germans who had arrived in the meantime. The time which General Adamirossi had demanded for the delivery of the arms was used by him to conclude an agreement with the Germans for the surrender to them of Turin.

"General Adamirossi apparently has already paid with his life, at the hand of a worker, for this treachery."

Earlier reports told of similar betrayals by Badoglio's officers in other cities.

In Bergamo, workers who demanded arms "were told by the military commander that only a few outmoded rifles were available." the Associated Press reported Sept. 12.

In Milan General **Ruggiero,** frightened by the success of the workers and soldiers who had wiped out the Nazi forces in the city, declared the city surrendered to the Nazis at a time when the Nazi army had not even reached the outskirts of the city. He also agreed to maintain internal order in the Milan area—act as police agent for the Nazis. Two days later, continued resistance of the workers forced the Nazis to take over the task themselves.

(See Editorial, page 4: "Who Defends Italy?")

BoardHears Postal Plea For Pardon

Kelly Postal's application for pardon will be heard before the Minnesota State Board of Pardons on Oct. 13 instead of Oct. 11 as previously reported, owing to the large number of cases the board must review, the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week. Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Local 544, is now serving five years imprisonment on trumped-up charges of "embezzlement" of union funds. It is expected that representatives of three national civil liberties organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Workers Defense League, and the Civil Rights Defense Committee, will appear before the Board of Pardons together with the Minnesota attorney retained by the CRDC, to plead for Postal's freedom.

Petitions bearing over 5,000 signatures already gathered in support of Postal were forwarded to the board on Oct. 8 by the Twin City branch of the WDL. Buick Local 6, UAW-CIO of Melrose Park, Ill. sent a strongly worded telegram stating that its 10,000 aircraft workers "have taken a stand foursquare in support of the freedom of Kelly Postal."

In a resolution addressed to

(Continued on page 2)

Open Letter to the Members of the Young Communist League

By the Editors of THE MILITANT

Dear Comrades:

We address those among you who consider yourselves communists; you who defend the Soviet Union because it is the first workers' state and the first step toward the world revolution.

We know that there are others in the YCL who joined because the YCL no longer requires as a condition for membership support to the principle of a future socialist society. As Max Weiss reported in the September Communist, "in actual fact a substantial part of the membership of the YCL today is not socialist in its belief or outlook." We are not talking to members of that type.

Tomorrow, when events reveal to the full the real game of the "democracies" in this war, most of those so-called YCL'ers, recruited not to communism but to the banner of Roosevelt, Churchill & Co., will desert your organization and turn up in the camp of the enemies of socialism and the Soviet Union.

Your convention meets under a leadership which is going even further in the direction of the jingoes. The very name "Communist" is to be wiped out of your organization, and the last vestiges of lip-service to Marxism expunged from your program.

What class is aided by this policy of your leadership? Only the capitalist class. The working class is only miseducated and disoriented by the vile spectacle of "communists" proclaiming the virtues of "democratic" capitalism: "pledging to protect and defend the Constitution," "safeguarding the American home and family," "educating in the spirit of our democratic ideals," etc. — these jingo ideas constitute the program dictated to you.

This program is based on the perspective of long-term collaboration between the "democracies" and the Soviet Union. Yet events already are giving the lie to the anti-Marxist assertion that the workers' state which emerged from the October revolution can live indefinitely in brotherly collaboration with the great capitalist powers.

The U. S. Army's Special Training Program for military government and occupation work includes instruction which characterized the Soviet Union as the enemy of tomorrow. The Oct. 10 Daily Worker blames this fact on the "army instructors" involved. But can you believe for one moment that this anti-Soviet indoctrination of the U. S. Army comes from any source other than the highest circles of the U. S. government? Do you not realize that such a system of education in the army could be instituted only with the consent of the War Department — and of the White House, yes, of the same Roosevelt whom Browder continues to hail as "our" commander-in-chief?

According to the September Communist, one of the main tasks of your convention was "to speed the opening of the Second Front." But before your convention opens, it has become clear that the main purpose of an Anglo-U. S. front in western Europe would be to "beat the Reds to Berlin." The "democracies" were well content to let the Soviet Union bleed itself white while in the battle against the Nazis. Only now, when the Red Army is nearing the borders of Germany and other capitalist states, do the capitalist spokesmen speed preparations for the second front. Their main aim is to checkmate the Red Army and to take the place of the Nazis as the oppressors of the peoples of Europe.

Already the capitalist press is discreetly preparing its readers to expect nothing from the U. S.-British-Soviet conference in Moscow. Washington is playing a waiting game with the Kremlin until a gigantic U. S.-British army is firmly established on the European continent. Then Washington will talk — and everything it will say will be in deadly opposition to the interests of the Soviet Union and the European proletariat.

Your leaders are blinding you to this inevitable development. They are preaching collaboration with the "democratic" capitalist gang and covering up the existence of the fundamental antagonism between the Soviet Union and the "democratic" capitalist states.

You want a socialist world. Can it come through supporting the "democrats" who put Darlan and Giraud in office, who back Franco in Spain, Salazar in Portugal, Badoglio in Italy, Vargas in Brazil, Britain's totalitarian rule of India, etc., etc.? Can socialism be furthered by Browder's strikebreaking condemnation of militancy in the factories and the Communist Party's support of "incentive pay" — the new name for the old fink piecework system?

Why do Stalin and his bureaucratic caste hand down such a reactionary policy? It is because this degenerate bureaucracy is concerned with its own bureaucratic privileges — interests different from and alien to those of the masses of the Soviet Union.

For the Soviet Union is a great labor organization which has fallen into the hands of a bureaucratic clique, much as even the best trade union, under adverse conditions, falls into the hands of bureaucrats. These adverse conditions, in the case of the USSR, were the defeats of the workers revolutions in western Europe and the consequent isolation of the Soviet Union amid capitalist encirclement.

Just as all bureaucrats fear the revival of militant activity in the labor movement as a whole, so does Stalin fear successful proletarian revolutions in western Europe. For those revolutions, freeing the Soviet masses from the fear of imperialist invasion, would inspire the Soviet proletariat to revive the Soviets which Stalin destroyed — to recreate the Soviet democracy of the days of Lenin and Trotsky. The Kremlin bureaucracy would be displaced by the democratic rule of the Soviets. The great revolution would then move forward again after the long reaction. Rather than let that happen, Stalin seeks one deal after another with the capitalist powers. That is the fundamental source of the reactionary policy which is foisted upon you, and which benefits neither the Soviet Union nor the American and world working class.

We stand for the original program of Lenin and Trotsky — the program of world revolution. That program is represented today on a world scale by the Fourth International, in America by the Socialist Workers Party. You have been told many lies about the Trotskyists. It is time, however, for you to find out for yourselves. Study our program. Read our press. In comradely discussion, we know that we can convince you that ours is the road — the only road — for the defense of the Soviet Union and the struggle for world socialism.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

3,200 over - the - road drivers, members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, from St. Louis, Memphis, Nashville, Atlanta, Birmingham, Mobile and New Orleans early last week began walking out in protest against the WLB's runaround of the drivers' demands for wage increases and vacations.

The strike began in St. Louis and spread rapidly. Millions of pounds of freight are now choking the docks all over the south. Employer representatives from the fifty-eight companies involved report they expect local truck drivers to join the strike unless a settlement is reached very soon.

* * *

A "wave of illness" struck 4,000 AFL milk drivers in New York City last week following a WLB decision granting the Sheffield and Borden milk companies the right to institute an every-other-day delivery system which will throw out of jobs several hundred drivers.

Members of the Newspaper and Mail Delivery Drivers Union (independent) also were hit with an epidemic of illness, tying up the delivery of New York evening papers in Queens, Brooklyn, and Long Island.

Not long ago, it will be remembered, an official of the Coal Operators Association complained in the press at the amount of absenteeism among the coal miners and said that the miners were applying the slogan: "no contract, no sweat."

These incidents show the wonderful ingenuity of the working class, and its inherent militancy. Despite the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, and Roosevelt's "sanctions" decree, the workers find numerous ways to fight for their demands. And there is absolutely nothing illegal about workers getting sick—even when large groups of them all get sick at once. At least, it is not illegal yet.

* * *

The case of R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW-CIO, recently arrested in Texas for violating the anti-labor Manford Act, will be argued in the Texas Supreme Court Oct. 23.

Thomas was sentenced to three days in jail and fined $100 by a lower court.

The Manford Act makes it mandatory to secure a license before soliciting union members. And to get a license one must be a resident of Texas for one year.

Other provisions of the Manford Act require all unions to file statements of income and expense once a year, prohibit the issuing of "work permits," limit the amount of initiation fees and dues, and forbid the contribution of any union funds to political parties.

* * *

Unofficial figures reported last week show that since the Smith-Connally Act was passed, 1,319 strike notices have been filed, 201 of these were later withdrawn, and 54 strike ballots were conducted by the NLRB with the voting heavily favoring strike actions. Four "legal" strikes have been conducted, one by a District 50, UMW union, one by an independent union, and two by AFL unions.

Ship Workers Needs Sharply Posed By Treachery of Union Bureaucrats

President John Green put the following question to the delegates of the ninth annual CIO Shipyard Workers Convention held in New York City in September: "If we cannot find some other way to win our demands than to cease production of war material (strike), it simply means we are **mentally bankrupt** and unworthy of leading great masses of American citizens." (**Shipyard Worker**, Sept. 24, 1943.)

An examination of the "other way" that Green, Van Gelder and Co. have found and practiced to win the demands of the union, proves beyond a shadow of doubt that they are truly mentally bankrupt and unfit to lead the shipyard workers.

DENIED INCREASE

In his opening remarks to the convention, Green, who made the principle defense of the union administration, boasted of the advances in wages and working conditions which the union had won. But he forgot to mention that all these advances had been won before Pearl Harbor, when the union was not hogtied by the no-strike policy. Since then a 15% wage increase to which the shipyard workers were entitled under the contract rising cost of living clause has been cut to 8% in 1942. Roosevelt personally assured the shipyard Union at this time that he would hold down the cost of living. The union's modest demand of a 9% general wage increase in 1943, in face of the officially admitted 18% increase in the cost of living, was flatly rejected by the War Labor Board.

Green and the top union leadership, however, assured the convention that the union could solve its problems by continued support of the "War Labor Board machinery," and of President Roosevelt, "the consistent fighter for the basic rights of labor."

DOUBLE TALK

Yet this same John Green wrote an open letter to President Roosevelt printed in the **Shipyard Worker** of Aug. 27, 1943:

"Recent developments have caused us much concern. In order to give its all-out support to the war effort, labor bared its chest to its traditional enemies. We voluntarily gave up our strongest economic weapon, the right to strike — for the duration, in order that there might be no impediment to production for victory. Now we want to know whether that voluntary sacrifice will be used to destroy us." Yet Green assured the convention that the union was getting an even break from the War Labor Board.

Green further declared in his open letter: "Labor is concerned also by the men you have chosen to head the administration's agencies of the Government. Gradually, all the liberal and progressive individuals who have stood for the New Deal during the trying years of our struggle to overcome the injustices of untrammeled 'free enterprise' have been replaced by men 'acceptable' to reaction."

Green is thus telling the shipyard workers to send their demands, grievances, etc., to government agencies, which are being staffed with men "acceptable" to reaction.

Green who called Roosevelt in his convention report "the consistent fighter for the basic rights of labor and of the common people" made another flip-flop from his opinion one month ago. This is what he had to say to Roosevelt at that time: "Now as a consequence of the enactment of the Smith-Connally Act, comes your executive order which provides sanctions and penalties against individual workers and labor unions in order to implement compliance with rulings of the WLB. The breach has been made, and in each step, further retreat to reaction follows progressively!"

Green and the top union bureaucracy have tied their fate to Roosevelt. That is why they must try to shove Roosevelt's program of wage and labor freezing down the throats of the shipyard workers.

UNION POLICEMEN

The recent contract negotiations brought the hot breath of the rank and file on the necks of these bureaucrats. After this convention of the union, Green and the other fakers have openly taken the role of policemen against the union rank and file.

The shipyard workers can place no confidence or trust in the Green-Van Gelder leadership. They must tackle the job of forming a new leadership out of the ranks of the most militant stewards and rank and file fighters. They must break with the cowardly and treacherous program of Green and his fellow bureaucrats and begin a struggle to regain the right to strike, must launch the fight for wage increases to meet the rising cost of living and must regain the independence of their union.

Timely Subjects In October F. I.

The October 1943 issue of the monthly magazine **Fourth International**, just published, features an analysis by the editors of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals decision upholding the convictions of the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis Smith "Gag" Act case.

John G. Wright, noted commentator on Soviet affairs, discusses "Soviet Life in Wartime" as reflected in the pages of the Moscow press. On the basis of an authoritative statement by one of Churchill's Tory colleagues, John Adamson in "Post-War Preview" discloses what British imperialist policy holds in store for Europe.

Other articles in this new issue include "Letters on the Spanish Revolution" by Leon Trotsky; a review of James Burnham's "The Machiavellians" by Joseph Hansen entitled "A Shamefaced Apologist for Fascism"; a summary of "The Progress of Inflation" by William F. Warde, as well as articles on Italy and Spain.

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Auto Workers Convention Report

(Continued from page 1)

strike resolution revealed once more, and in the clearest fashion, that the auto workers, despite their traditional and continued militancy, are not yet prepared to hurdle the principle obstacle to their aspirations—their continued alliance with Roosevelt.

They are dissatisfied and disgruntled with the consequences of their political position. They know that this position has left their hands tied in the face of the government - employer onslaught and that their union is unable to use its tremendous power in defense of their interests. Bewildered and disoriented by this contradiction, the majority of the delegates at this convention could only yield reluctantly to the flag-waving appeals of the leadership.

That some of the leading militants, like Emil Mazey, grasp this fundamental fact, is clear from his talk against the no-strike pledge. Mazey declared emphatically: **"Despite the war, the interests of the employers and the workers remain diametrically opposed. We have given up our struggle against the employers, but the employers have not ceased their class struggle against us during the war."**

Turning to John Anderson, Stalinist whip from Local 155, Mazey issued a direct challenge:

"Yes, Brother Anderson, the class struggle does go on in spite of the war!" Anderson gave no answer.

MAZEY'S FALSE TACTICS

Yet Mazey himself contributed not a little to the disorientation of the militants by his pre-convention and convention tactics. Mazey has worked to line up the militants behind Reuther's caucus. He has given them false ideas that there exist serious "differences" between Reuther and the rest of the leadership. He has blurred over the fact that political principles are decisive and that Reuther and his caucus leaders are in fundamental agreement on program with the Addes-Frankensteen-Stalinist clique.

Mazey's organization bloc with Reuther's caucus served to give a "left" cover to Reuther and helped conceal for a time Reuther's reactionary position. The militants were thus diverted from their real task of organizing their own group on their own independent program.

In reality, Reuther's game to win support on the basis of cooking up "principled differences" with the Addes-Frankensteen-Stalinist crowd was exploded when the reactionaries and Stalinists accepted Reuther's quibbling, meaningless "differences" and joined with him to fight the rank and file.

TWO RESOLUTIONS

Two resolutions were reported out on the no-strike pledge by the Resolutions Committee. Reuther's majority resolution reaffirmed the no-strike pledge unconditionally, but voiced a few complaints in the "whereases." The resolution urged the government to take over the plants where management refused "fair collective bargaining."

The minority resolution, sponsored by the Stalinists with the support of Addes and Frankensteen, contained a different final proposal urging the UAW to substitute for the strike weapon, "labor's most powerful weapon of political action," by which they meant active campaigning for Roosevelt administration candidates and pro-capitalist "friends of labor."

No sooner had Victor Reuther finished his speech demonstrating the "difference" between the majority and minority resolutions, than the Stalinist floor leader, Anderson, rose and asked President Thomas:

"How can a delegate like myself get the floor who wants to speak not in favor of one resolution against the other but in favor of **both** resolutions?"

REUTHER "DELIGHTED"

Victor Reuther expressed "delight" at this unexpected support for the majority resolution. He offered to accept the main "difference" in the Stalinist resolution and to incorporate it into his majority resolution.

Addes jumped up declaring his willingness to support the combined resolution if the section about plants being taken over by the government had a "safeguard" that it be done under "the war powers of the President and not under the Smith-Connally Act. and with full guarantees of all bargaining rights of workers in the plants and with elimination of all profits by employers."

Reuther and the Stalinists were happy to agree to this inclusion, and thus the entire leadership united, resolved their phony differences and together forced the passage of the no-strike pledge.

UNITY MANEUVER

An identical unity maneuver took place on the question of endorsing a fourth term for Roosevelt. The pro-Roosevelt resolutions were introduced on Thursday with the purpose of getting the convention on record behind Roosevelt before the no-strike or labor party questions could be discussed.

The Reuther majority on the resolutions committee reported out a resolution which proposed "qualified" endorsement of a fourth term for Roosevelt. **These "qualifications," like those in the no-strike resolution, were simply verbal and largely meaningless concessions to the rank and file dissatisfaction with the Roosevelt anti-labor policies.**

The Addes-Frankensteen-Stalinist minority resolution contained unstinting praise for Roosevelt and unqualified endorsement of a fourth term.

With so little difference in principle between the two resolutions, the leaders of both factions were anxious to prevent any strong rank and file debate during which anti-Roosevelt, pro-labor party advocates might have the opportunity to open up a fundamental political discussion. That explains why at the last moment before anyone could obtain the floor on the resolutions, Victor Reuther declared that he was "very happy" to announce that the minority had withdrawn its resolution in favor of the majority resolution.

NO ENTHUSIASM

The discussion on this resolution, as on the no-strike resolution later, revealed hardly an iota of enthusiasm for Roosevelt. **As a matter of fact, the mention of Roosevelt's name brought little response, in contrast with the tremendously enthusiastic demonstrations aroused by Roosevelt's name at all previous UAW conventions.**

The entire executive board, including Reuther and Thomas spoke in favor of this resolution. It was clear, from the floor discussion, that the numerous delegates who were dissatisfied with Roosevelt's policies placed chief emphasis in their minds on the "conditional" character of the resolution, while the Stalinists and the leadership were principally concerned with the positive aspect of the fourth term endorsement.

The only lively feature of the discussion occured, when Mazey spoke in opposition to the resolution. He was repeatedly interrupted by the heckling and booing of a small number of delegates, led chiefly by the Stalinists.

Mazey stated that the delegates should not act on the question of the fourth term until the next convention "after we have an opportunity of seeing what the administration is going to do with the basic problems facing the workers."

ROOSEVELT RESPONSIBLE

In his speech, Mazey charged correctly that Roosevelt could not be absolved from responsibility for such anti-labor acts as the Smith-Connally Law, and that **"the veto message of the President on the Smith-Connally bill was ten times more vicious than the bill itself."**

He pointed to the convention's criticism of the War Labor Board and Little Steel formula, and asked, "Who appointed the War Labor Board?" On criticism of the rationing program and the manpower policies, he asked, "Who appointed the people to the rationing program? Who appointed McNutt, the Hoosier Hitler, as the Director of the Manpower Commission? Each and every one of those appointments was made by the President of the United States.

"Instead of raising hell with some of the chairman of the agencies, we ought to raise hell with the person who is making the appointments and who has worked out these policies. We've got the Little Steel formula. He dictated the policy of the War Labor Board."

It is interesting and important to note that Mazey's correct attack on Roosevelt was not well received. But he received a good round of applause on his conclusion when he declared: "This convention ought to take a strong position to do away with company-unionism policies on political action and we should start building now for a real labor party, and we won't be part of the bosses' parties."

FOR LABOR PARTY

The favorable response to the labor party proposal established that the delegates made a distinction between supporting a labor party and breaking with Roosevelt. They are beginning to see in the labor party, an alternative to the boss parties. But they still believe it is necessary to support Roosevelt.

Unfortunately, the top bureaucrats succeeded in preventing the convention from discussing the specific question of the labor party The "qualified" endorsement resolution, which passed with only a handful of votes in opposition, ended the political discussion.

Just prior to the debate on incentive pay, occurred one of the rank and file upsurges which have characterized every UAW convention. The rules called for election of officers on the fourth day of the convention. None of the basic issues had come before the delegates by Wednesday afternoon, the third day.

DECIDE ISSUES FIRST

At the start of the Wednesday afternoon session, delegate Murphy of Briggs Local 212 introduced a motion that the election of officers take place only after the resolutions on incentive pay, no-strike and the fourth term had been acted upon, and after all the candidates for officers' posts had stated their position on these question. This motion was amended to include all the executive board members as well.

Despite the protests of Thomas and other officers that this would take a great deal of time, Murphy insisted on his motion. He said: "If we hold up the voting on the officers until these three issues have been disposed of we folks can vote more intelligently."

Delegate Lacey of Local 235 stated: "We are tired of this pussy-footing business. I want everybody to take a stand, those who are responsible for the policies of our union. I want them to come out and tell us just where they stand."

The Reuther caucus leaders, who understood that they held the popular position on the incentive pay question, were all for this procedure at this juncture. The next day, however, they were just as anxious as the Addes-Frankensteen clique to get on with the elections before the no-strike issue could get on the floor. They supported a motion to hold the elections of the top officers before the no-strike resolution and War Labor Board resolutions could be discussed.

INCENTIVE PAY

Incentive pay was the only issue on which Reuther felt he could safely adopt an unequivocal position. On this issue, the Addes-Frankensteen caucus leaders were slick enough to blur the lines of difference by introducing a resolution which differed from Heuther's local unions to introduce incentive pay systems if they desired.

The Addes - Frankensteen spokesmen demagogically at-

(Continued on page 3)

The Militant agent in St. Paul sent us the following information which shows the excellent work being done there:

"St. Paul has had considerable success with its regular **Militant** distribution. Two of the comrades have a route which they follow each week in the Negro district, which covers a section of approximately two miles long, and each house is covered.

"From time to time a 'Tag Day' is held in this neighborhood and results are quite good. Usually five or six comrades go out on a Sunday morning with copies of one or two pamphlets, such as 'Negroes in the Post-War World' and 'Your Standard of Living.' In about two hours, 100 pamphlets or so are sold.

"That these sales, in a great many cases, are due to the consistent distribution of The Militant **has been proven many times.** One of the comrades encountered a colored woman who didn't appear interested. However, when the comrade mentioned that the pamphlet was published by the Socialist Workers Party, she hurried to get her nickel to purchase the pamphlet. In many cases, people have shown interest when they learned of the connection between **The Militant** and the pamphlet.

"Although this district is not entirely Negro, we find that the best sales are made to Negroes, and they evince the most interest, both in the pamphlets written specifically with regard to the Negro problem, and also 'Your Standard of Living.'"

San Francisco has officially wound-up their one-month subscription campaign with a total of 139 subs:

"Enclosed find money order for 28 subs. This concludes our four-week drive on subscriptions and we have gone over the top. Our goal was 100.

"The winning team will be given their prizes at a party next Sunday night which is being held in celebration of the success of our campaign. **The party will also mark the opening of our new office which we have been working on for the past few weeks and it is now a real headquarters."**

* * *

Our Los Angeles agent writes: "Enclosed is $17 to cover the attached subs to **The Militant** and **Fourth International.** The sub contest is coming along fine, a little over half-way, with San Pedro leading."

* * *

We received the following request from Scotland:

"As I am very interested in the Minneapolis Trial of 1941, could you send me the copies of **The Militant** in which was printed the version of this trial."

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Boards Hear Postal Plea For Pardon

(Continued from page 1)

Governor Thye, 17 members of the executive board of United Furniture Workers of America, CIO, Local 415, Grand Rapids, Mich. declared that the charge of embezzlement was a frame-up "instigated by Daniel J. Tobin, president of AFL Teamsters in retaliation for the leading role played by Postal in the struggle of Local 544 against the dictatorial policies of Tobin." Similar letters and resolutions were sent this week by the Utility Workers Organizing Committee Local 104, Saginaw, Mich., Boilermakers Local 104, Seattle, Wash., United Furniture Workers Local 577, San Diego, Cal., International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local 29, San Diego, Cal., and the Accion Democrata Espanola of San Francisco.

"Here is a case in which not one man's fate is alone involved, but also the integrity of the democratic process in the labor movement," wrote Clinton J. Taft, Director of the ACLU in Southern California.

Among this week's contributors to the Postal Pardon Fund are Columbia River District Council No. 5, Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union, Portland, Ore; Utility Workers Organizing Committee Local 104, Saginaw, Mich., United Furniture Workers Local 415, Grand Rapids, Mich., Mechanics Educational Society Local 6, Detroit, Mich., United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Local 301, Schenectady, N. Y., UAW-CIO Lincoln Local 900, Detroit, Mich. and Accion Democrata Espanola, San Francisco, Cal.

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Albert Parker

Why Roosevelt Keeps Mum

"Do you believe race tensions would be allayed if President Roosevelt spoke frankly to the nation?" A wide range of Negroes in all parts of the country, asked for their views on this question by the **Pittsburgh Courier**, answered as follows:

83.4% said Yes.
11.2% said No.
5.4% were uncertain.

Leaving aside for the moment the many interesting questions about Negro opinion raised by this survey, this fact looms prominently above everything else: **More than four out of every five Negroes believe that Roosevelt is not doing what he can to prevent further attacks on the Negro people and their rights.** In other words, they are dissatisfied with the administration's attitude toward the Negroes and their problems.

This feeling of dissatisfaction is, of course, more than justified by the facts. The Negro people understand that the administration could take a number of steps which would at least make it more difficult for the enemies of the Negroes to carry on their obnoxious activities.

They know, for example, that Roosevelt could throw the weight of his administration behind the anti-poll tax bill. They know that his support could do a lot to bring about the adoption of a federal anti-lynch bill. They know that he has the power to institute prosecutions against the "white supremacy" — Ku Klux Klan — hoodlum elements who played a leading part in the anti-Negro terror in Detroit and other cities. They know that he can give the Fair Employment Practices Committee the power to enforce anti-Jim Crow regulations for industry. They know that he has the authority, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, to order the end of segregation of Negro servicemen.

And when Roosevelt refuses to take any of these measures, when he confines himself to a feeble general statement on the question once or twice a year, when he balks at even giving a public expression of his disapproval of the Detroit violence — **then the Negro people know that part of the fault for the present situation belongs on his shoulders, and their knowledge is reflected not only in their answer to polls but also in their readiness to conduct independent struggles against Jim Crow oppression.**

* * *

What would happen if Roosevelt were to speak "frankly" on this question? If he were to speak and say what he really thinks, then of course race tensions would not be allayed at all. For what he would say would be substantially the following:

"I don't wish to be bothered by this question at all. I don't like to have lynch mobs attacking the Negroes in wartime because it diverts attention and energy better used in winning the war. Similarly I don't like to have the Negro people fighting to obtain equality in wartime because that too raises disputes at a time when everyone should be concentrating on the war. Why can't people forget issues like this at the present time and wait until the war is over?"

The actual effect of a frank statement by Roosevelt would therefore be to lend support to maintaining conditions as they are. Roosevelt does not approve of lynch attacks on Negroes, but he tolerates them. He does not approve of the fight for Negro rights, but his policies stand in the way of its success. A frank statement of what he thinks would not improve present conditions at all.

* * *

But suppose that Roosevelt, despite what he thinks, were to issue some strong statements against lynch violence and the increasing assaults on Negro rights? Wouldn't that affect conditions to some extent? The answer is: Yes, but not much.

It could not have much of a beneficial effect so long as Roosevelt permitted the continuation of the government's own Jim Crow policies. Granted that Roosevelt still has a good deal of prestige and influence over the general population, no speeches or fireside chats he would deliver could seriously alter the present situation if the reactionaries were able to show that they are only doing what the government itself does to the Negro people.

What the Negro people must demand of Roosevelt is not so much frank speeches or strong statements as more action. And like charity, this action should begin at home. If he doesn't take such action, then all the speeches in the world won't be worth a plugged nickel anyhow.

* * *

The Negro militants must learn to keep their eyes on the ball and not permit themselves to be diverted from the main tasks facing them. In the final analysis it does not make much difference what Roosevelt or any other politician at the head of the capitalist government says or does not say. Whatever they say, their policies will be substantially the same—anti-Negro. And they have to be the same—whether carried out by a hypocritical Roosevelt or a maker of noble speeches such as Willkie—because the preservation of capitalism in this period is inseparably linked to the preservation of Jim Crow and the double exploitation of the Negro masses.

The job facing the fighters against Jim Crow is the organization and education of their forces for an uncompromising struggle to replace capitalism with socialism, the only kind of system under which the Negro people will ever attain equality in this country. We are interested in the reasons why Roosevelt maintains silence on the questions directly affecting 13 million people not because we expect him to act differently, but because an explanation of his attitude helps to dispel illusions among the Negro masses and to win them over to the anti-Jim Crow, anti-capitalist struggle.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

WE DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By James P. Cannon

The Russian question is no literary exercise to be taken up or cast aside according to the mood of the moment. The Russian question has been and remains the question of the revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality.

It was said once of a book — I think it was Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" — "who touches this book, touches a man." In the same sense it can also be said, "Who touches the Russian question, touches a revolution." Therefore, be serious about it. Don't play with it.

The October revolution put socialism on the order of the day throughout the world. It revived and shaped and developed the revolutionary labor movement of the world out of the bloody chaos of the war. The Russian revolution showed in practice, by example, how the workers' revolution is to be made. It revealed in life the role of the party. It showed in life what kind of a party the workers must have. By its victory, and its reorganization of the social system, the Russian revolution has proved for all time the superiority of nationalized property and planned economy over capitalist private property, and planless competition and anarchy in production.

The question of the Russian revolution — and the Soviet state which is its creation — has drawn a sharp dividing line through the labor movement of all countries for 22 years. The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world — the Mensheviks, Social Democrats, Anarchists and Syndicalists, Centrists, Stalinists. . . .

Our position on the Russian question is programmatic. In brief: The theoretical analysis — a degenerated Workers' State. The political conclusion — unconditional defense against external attack of imperialism or internal attempts at capitalist restoration.

(From Pages 211-213, "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," 1943, 320 pages, cloth $2.00; paper $1.50. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

Auto Workers Convention Fights 'Sacrifice' Program

(Continued from page 2)

tempted to represent themselves as the defenders of "union democracy" and "local autonomy," while hypocritically denying that they supported the idea of incentive pay.

The Stalinist delegates however, actually tried to prove that incentive pay could be a pretty good thing for the auto workers, holding out the lure of higher pay. They challenged Reuther to state how he proposed to get higher wages for the workers under the Little Steel formula and no-strike policy without resorting to incentive pay.

REUTHER EVADES

Reuther, of course, evaded the challenge of the Stalinists because he did not intend to support any aggressive labor struggle. He argued instead that incentive pay would result in decreased production and "disorganization and chaos in the plants."

Most of the rank and file delegates, and several of the board members, particularly Richard Gosser of Toledo Local 12, described their own bitter experience with the incentive pay systems.

The delegates, breaking all factional lines, voted overwhelmingly against incentive pay in any form prohibited its extension to new plants and directed the international officials and representatives to vigorously oppose it at all times.

Flushed with victory on this issue, the Reuther forces were more than anxious to go ahead with the elections without further delay. They believed that the incentive plan vote assured them of victory in the elections as well. They were due for a rude surprise.

In a roll-call vote that took several hours, Richard T. Leonard, director of the UAW Ford Department, the Reuther candidate for secretary-treasurer against the incumbent Addes was defeated by the narrow margin of 71 votes. **It was obvious that the delegates saw no fundamental difference between Addes and Leonard, despite their opposing stands on the incentive pay issue.**

PHONY DIFFERENCES

Complete confusion prevailed in the minds of the delegates as to the issues—because there were no genuine differences, only cooked-up ones. Militant delegates who opposed the no-strike pledge, like those from the Flint Buick local, cast block votes for Addes, because they were fed up with Reuther's policies as General Motors Department Director. Leonard secured only a slim majority of the tremendous Ford delegation votes although as Ford Department Director he was supposed to have had the Ford votes "in the bag." The bulk of the huge Toledo Local 12 vote went against Addes, a "hometown boy."

The Reuther hopes soared once more the next morning, when Reuther defeated Frankensteen for one of the vice-president posts by 345 votes. But these hopes were precipitately dashed the same afternoon, when Frankensteen defeated Leonard for the other vice-presiednсy. The "smart-guys" couldn't figure it out.

But the answer was simple. The majority of the delegates voted in such a fashion as to prevent either clique from gaining decisive control of the board. **They shifted their votes back and forth sufficiently to put Reuther on the board to watch Addes and Frankensteen, and Addes and Frankensteen to watch Thomas and Reuther.**

OUTCOME OF ELECTIONS

Their feelings were expressed by delegate MacDonnell of Detroit Murray Body Local 2, who nominated Frankensteen for vice-president against Leonard. Local 2 had cast a block vote for Reuther against Frankensteen in the morning. But MacDonnell stated in the afternoon: "our local union wants a good democratic union in this International, and we don't want all top officers being on one side."

The final outcome of the elections for officers and board members was—an almost equal division of power between the two cliques, with the identical officers retained. Thomas, who is supposed to be a "neutral" and shifts back and forth with each wind that blows, was re-elected president by acclamation to hold the balance of power on the board.

None of the re-elected officers could gain much consolation from the elections. Their bids for outright control were frustrated. Addes once had the reputation for being a progressive. He has been following a reactionary line in the past two years and acting as a cover for the Stalinists. He received from the convention an unmistakably sharp warning. Last year he was the most popular officer on the board. This year he retained his office by a hair-breadth margin.

MINORITIES DEPT.

To win the support of the many militant Negro workers at the convention, particularly from the Ford local, the Stalinist-influenced minority of the resolutions committee reported out a resolution aimed at securing an extra Stalinist-Addes addition to the board. The Reuther majority had introduced a resolution to set up a Minorities Department in order to organize and aid the work of the International in combatting racial discrimination, educating the members against anti-Negro prejudices, securing equal rights and proper conditions for women workers, etc. The resolution provided for the appointment of a director of the department by the International President. The Reuther caucus hoped by this manuever to win the appointment of Walter Hardin, a Negro supporter of Reuther.

The Stalinists, supported by Addes and Frankensteen, countered with a resolution also calling for the setting up of a Minorities Department, but specifying that the director should be a Negro, and that he should be elected by the convention to serve as an additional member of the executive board with a vote equal to the average vote of all the board members. **The Addes - Stalinist group had in mind securing the election of a Stalinist Negro delegate to the board.**

The Stalinists tried to hold up the elections on Friday by insisting that this resolution be acted upon before the election of board members. They were voted down. The delegates understood that this was a political maneuver to win Negro support for Frankensteen before the elections.

UGLY SITUATION

On Saturday night, the convention was thrust into one of the bitterest and ugliest situations in UAW convention history.

Nat Canley a leading Stalinist whip, introduced the minority resolution. But sensing that it would not pass in its original form, he announced the deletion of the section specifying that the director should be a Negro, and changed the proposed voting strength for this new executive board member to but one vote.

The discussion on the resolution even in this revised form led to a very embittered debate. Many delegates with Jim Crow prejudices regarded it as an extreme provocation. **Many more delegates, who supported absolutely the principle of social, political and economic equality for the Negroes, were forced into a position of opposition by the patently factional and unprincipled motivations of the Stalinist proposal.**

Negro delegates, desiring quite correctly to see a Negro elected to the International Board, were heatedly aroused. They were given leadership principally by the Stalinist, Hodges Mason, of Local 208. Other Negro delegates just as vigorously opposed the resolution, charging that such a provision was in itself a form of patronage and segregation, and that they wanted "no favors."

DELEGATE PROTESTS

Horace Sheffield, Negro delegate of Ford Local 600, denounced the maneuver, declaring: "This resolution has been sent in by those who have no interest in a real meeting of the minorities problem. I submit that the Negroes in this convention have been made the victims of political demagogy. We don't want favors. I resent the low political demagogy of this move."

Sheffield received a great ovation from the convention.

A minority of backward delegates with varying degrees of Jim Crow prejudice, combined first with the Reuther supporters to defeat the Stalinist resolution. They then blocked with the Stalinists, and other delegates genuinely disgusted with the maneuvering and demagogy of both factions, to defeat the majority resolution.

Unfortunately, no delegate rose to expose the demagogy of both factions by asking why neither group had put a Negro candidate, or candidates, on their regular slate of candidates.

The defeat of both resolutions produced a very unfavorable impression on the many Negro delegates. This impression was only partially compensated for Sunday morning by a strong resolution, supported by both factions, which denounced every form of anti-Negro manifestation in the UAW, including the "hate strikes" that had occured in certain plants.

The resolution pledged the UAW to "fight for protection in law and in fact of the rights of all minority groups to fully participate in our social, political and industrial life." It provided for the disciplining by the International Union of all participants or instigators of "hate strikes." It demanded that the Federal government set an example "through the elimination of discrimination in the armed forces and all other government agencies." The resolution further provided that "adequate Negro representation be employed in all departments of the International Union."

For once, President Thomas "took a position." He challenged any delegate who did not subscribe to the resolution to "have the guts" to take the floor and state his views.

Several backward delegates, who were roundly booed, expressed opposition to the inclusion of the phrase "social" in the resolution. A number of white delegates took the floor to give vigorous endorsement to the resolution. An overwhelming vote was cast for the resolution, with only a sprinkling of hands against.

In the closing hours of the convention, two important resolutions, one on the War Labor Board and Little Steel formula, and the other on the cost of living and the price rollback, were hastily discussed and adopted.

KEY RESOLUTIONS

The first resolution demanded that the President and the government agencies involved terminate Roosevelt's "Hold the Line" wage-freezing order and "scrap the Little Steel formula." It also called for "an immediate rollback of prices, or general wage increase" to restore wages to the purchasing power in May 1942; industry-wide agreements providing equal pay for equal work in all plants throughout the country; a post-war "labor security fund" to be provided by the corporations for unemployed and partially-employed workers. **It demanded direct negotiations between management and labor with the right, if agreement is reached, to make a final settlement without WLB interference.**

The fundamental shortcoming of the resolution was that it continued to place reliance on the Roosevelt government and the employer-dominated War Labor Board to protect labor's interests. It reflected nevertheless the extreme resentment of the auto and aircraft workers to the wage freeze and the other WLB policies.

REJECT DUES INCREASE

The resolution on cost of living and price rollback, expressed disappointment at the failure of the administration to carry out its price rollback promise. The resolution stated that if this program "is not immediately put into effect, demand shall be made in all contract negotiations for wage increases sufficient to restore the relationship between wages and the cost of living, with an escalator clause to provide for automatic wage increases if prices continue to rise."

The most hopeful sign at the convention was the repeated expression of the rank and file ability to take control whenever the issues were clear to them, in spite of the heavy pressure from the top officers.

Just as they did last year, the delegates by almost unanimous vote rejected a constitutional proposal, backed by all officers and executive board members except Gosser of Toledo, to increase dues through a 50 cents additional monthly assessment.

CONVENTION DATE

Addes and Thomas pleaded without avail for the delegates to vote more dues for a "post-war fund." But the delegates, ever suspicious of the leadership and unwilling to give more funds than are immediately required for the functioning of the International, overwhelmingly repudiated the plea. When one delegate even proposed to return to the locals one-third of the dollar assessment the International is permitted to levy during the year, Thomas aroused the mirth of the delegates by declaring that "he wanted to take a position on this question," and frantically besought the convention not to take "this little" away.

Earlier in the convention, a constitutional amendment to hold the next convention in October 1944 was rejected, because it was argued the leaders and members should be active in the presidential campaign during October 1944.

The resolutions committee returned with a proposal to hold the convention in November 1944, after the presidential elections. **The obvious motive for this proposal was the fear on the part of the leaders that a convention before the elections might result in a big shift in the political sentiment of the auto workers from support of Roosevelt to building their own independent labor party.** The delegates, however, saw through this and set the date for the convention in September 1944.

INNATE MILITANCY

Despite the feeling of frustration and dissatisfaction with which very many of the delegates left the convention, one could not help but get a strong impression of the innate militancy, democratic character and dynamic qualities of this tremendous union of over 1,000,000 members.

The present leaders — agents of the Roosevelt administration and the war machine — continue to hold leadership only because the auto workers have not yet been able to resolve the contradiction between their desire to fight militantly in defense of their interests as workers and their continued support, though in an ever more reluctant fashion, of Roosevelt and boss-class politics.

The Thomas - Reuther - Addes - Frankensteen leadership deliberately maneuvered throughout the convention to keep the labor party question off the floor, although the Michigan CIO convention, representing 700,000 auto workers, had recently passed a resolution favoring immediate formation of an independent labor party, and though a number of resolutions favoring such a step were sent by local unions to the convention.

But before the next convention rolls around, the auto workers may be insisting, with perhaps irresistable strength, on the establishment of a labor party. Roosevelt will fulfill none of the conditions which the convention laid down in its "qualified" endorsement of the fourth term.

The present leadership which keeps the UAW tied to the anti-labor Roosevelt administration stands on very shakey ground. All the top factions are viewed by the auto workers with profound distrust and disrespect. They are accepted so far only because a more vigorous, militant and class-conscious leadership has not yet emerged to challenge them. **To help develop such a leadership is the essential duty of every class-conscious militant in the UAW.**

Soviet Advances Cast Shadow On Moscow Parley

(Continued from page 1)

They fear that with a more favorable relationship of forces after Hitler's collapse, the Soviet masses will wrest the power from the Stalinist usurpers and turn it back into the service of world revolution.

Even while Stalin still rules, the fundamental antagonism between the capitalist world and the workers' state continues to assert itself. Stalin fears the "democratic" imperialists and their schemes for seizing control of Europe. He wants neither the revolution nor Anglo-U. S. rulership over Europe. Yet the only sure way to prevent Anglo-U.S. rule is by encouraging the European masses to take their fate into their own hands—and that means, in the end, revolution.

This is Stalin's insoluble contradiction. The answer to it remains an enigma to him, for there is no choice other than revolution or capitalist control of Europe. This is what underlines the "riddle of the Kremlin" which so disturbs Washington and London.

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Milk Drivers Get Lesson On Effects Of Monopoly

By M. Morrison

The order of the War Labor Board providing for the discharge of hundreds of drivers by the New York milk companies in order to conserve gas and rubber furnishes an excellent example of how, in the functioning of the capitalist system under war conditions, monopoly capitalism invariably comes out on top. It may be argued that it is necessary to conserve gas and rubber, but it still remains that the milk companies are the gainers from that necessity and the workers are the losers. The milk companies would have had a hard time to get rid of almost a thousand drivers were it not for the fact that war conditions enable the government to step in and use its power on their behalf.

In peace time, as well as during war, governmental measures adopted for the purpose of making the capitalist system function, somehow or other, turn out to the benefit of the monopolists. But it is war conditions that bring out so clearly the hold which monopoly capitalism has upon the economic life of the nation.

When Congress, during Roosevelt's first administration, enacted the National Recovery Act, it was done for the purpose of helping a prostrated industry to recover. Its effect was to place Big Business in a more advantageous position as against the small business man.

Admitting that the chief purpose of the Roosevelt administration is to win the war and not to benefit monopoly capitalism, it, nevertheless, remains a fact that **monopoly capitalism has been the chief beneficiary of all the war measures taken with reference to industry.**

* * *

And it could not be otherwise. Could any administration, basing itself on the capitalist system, prevent monopoly capitalism from getting complete control of the war economy? When the navy requires huge warships it cannot get them by calling upon cockroach business men to build them. When the army needs tanks and planes it cannot call upon two-by-four manufacturers to produce them. Naturally the men at the head of the army and navy and the dollar-a-year men do not go out of their way to help small business. Undoubtedly there is a lot of conscious steering away of orders from little business. But malevolent intention plays a very small role in the process. **What determines the giving of orders to Big Business is that the real capacity to produce is in its hands.**

When the decision was made to set ceiling prices on commodities it need not be assumed that it was done with the purpose of benefiting the monopolists at the expense of the little business men. It was done with the idea of avoiding inflation which carries grave dangers to the capitalist system. But price ceilings and rationing have brought economic death to many a small business man.

And it must be remembered that price ceilings are not applicable to war contracts. The army and navy people understand that the only reliable guarantee of their getting material from patriotic Big Business is patriotic profits.

Effective price freezing has thus far been limited to wages. It is only by means of subsidies that the government can expect to hold down prices to a slower rate of increase. **And it can be taken for granted that the real beneficiaries of subsidies will be the monopolists.**

* * *

Some time ago Harold Ickes made the charge that if there was anything wrong with the war effort it is the business men who are in control who should be blamed and not the New Dealers. He thereby merely brought out into the open what every informed person knew. His purpose in making the charge was to relieve the New Dealers of responsibility but he also made clear that an administration priding itself on its alleged hostility to monopoly capitalism had to submit to the representatives of monopoly in order to get cooperation for producing war material. **The lesson** is there for everybody to read and see: where industry is under the control of monopoly, a government accepting that control is helpless to cope with the monopoly and, to get its cooperation, must feed it with profits.

Prior to the war there was a good deal of talk about drafting wealth as well as men for this war. The American Legion passed quite a few resolutions in favor of that principle. When war actually came the drafting of wealth was entirely forgotten. The capitalist system does not function effectively by the drafting of wealth and no capitalist administration would attempt to pass any such measure at a time of war when it is anxious to have the capitalist system function most effectively.

* * *

Representatives of the middle class and top trade union bureaucrats are pleading for different dollar-a-year men or for their complete elimination. Thus do they expect to change a situation where Big Business is waxing fatter and fatter at the expense of little business and the working masses. To them it is only a question of changing the officials in Washington. **They close their eyes to the real reason: the very existence of monopoly capitalism.**

To prevent Big Business from utilizing the war for increasing its profits and for getting a strangle hold on the economic life of the nation there is and can be only one effective measure: to do away with its ownership of the big war industries. Militant workers must fight every measure such as the one which compels hundreds of drivers to be laid off, thus increasing the profits of the companies. **But they must go to the root of the whole question and demand the nationalization of industry and its operation under workers' control.**

It can be said that it will still be necessary with nationalized industry to save gas and rubber and hence to lay off drivers in the milk industry. Assuming even that such will be the case, the workers will be sure that the companies will not make additional profits out of the necessity to save rubber and gas and that they will be assured of a return to their regular jobs when the war is over.

To permit monopoly capitalism to continue the ownership of industry is to guarantee that all of the burdens of the war will be placed on the shoulders of the workers, with the monopolists coming out richer and more powerful than ever before.

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
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6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Who Defends Italy?

On page 1 of this week's issue we publish the authoritative story from *Libera Stampa* of Lugano describing how Badoglio's officers betrayed the workers of Turin to the Nazis. There is a profoundly important lesson to be drawn from this and similar occurrences in other cities of Italy.

The workers who tried to get arms and resist the Nazis were moved by a profoundly correct instinct. They were right in sensing that they could not depend on Badoglio's officers to drive out the Nazi invader; they were right in feeling that they had to arm and fight as an organized working class force.

Where they—more accurately, their leaders—made their mistake was in depending on Badoglio's officer caste to arm the workers. They should have been forewarned that the reactionary officer caste would do anything rather than permit the creation of an armed working class. Amid the revolutionary ferment in Italy, the armed workers would have inevitably gone on, not merely to fight against the Nazis, but also to fight for an Italy which would be forever free of the monarchy and of capitalist exploitation. Rather than let that happen, Badoglio and his officers PREFERRED to betray the industrial cities to the Nazis.

What happened in northern Italy is only the latest instance of the fact that the exploiting class always betrays its "own" country to the foreign enemy rather than let the masses take over the country. The ruling class does not defend the nation but only the private property, privileges and profits of the exploiters. After the October revolution, the Russian capitalists and landlords fought in the capitalist armies of intervention against their own former fatherland. In the Spanish civil war, the bourgeoisie called in Mussolini and Hitler against their own people. After the French army cracked, Petain capitulated to Hitler rather than permit the masses to organize themselves for struggle against the Nazis. One could cite many other examples from the last hundred years. Official patriotism is a mask for the exploiters; they throw it off and help the foreign enemy whenever it serves their interests.

Nor was the Italian officer caste the only "United Nations" force which considered the Italian working class as an enemy. As the Italian-American liberal historian, Gaetano Salvemini, has just said:

"America sent bombers to bomb the people of Milan, Genoa, Turin in August to smash the revolution. There were demonstrations in the streets, but instead of bombing the Brenner Pass, America bombed the Italians. Badoglio's soldiers wouldn't shoot Italian demonstrators. So we sent bombers —American Liberators." (*PM*, Oct. 10.)

Against the masses, the exploiters of both war camps will unite when they feel it necessary. That is the lesson of Italy.

Spellman's Letters

Colliers magazine prints in its current issue the letters of Archbishop Spellman to his father. This is the same Spellman who acted as unofficial envoy of President Roosevelt to the Vatican and as general errand boy around Europe and the various war fronts for the State Department.

Here is what Spellman has to say about Spain. He met Franco and according to him this fascist butcher "is a very sincere, serious and intelligent man." The Archbishop is also sure that this fascist swine was "a man loyal to his God, devoted to his country's welfare and definitely willing to sacrifice himself in any capacity and to any extent for Spain."

Spellman makes no bones of the fact that he is heart and soul in favor of the State Department's policy of propping up the crumbling Franco dictatorship. "Spain's attitude toward the United States," he writes, "has improved immeasurably. . .This change of feeling was at least partially due to the fact that America sent petroleum and cotton to Spain, and both products are vitally needed by the Spaniards. . . Thus, by improving our country's relations with Spain, Dr. Hayes (fascist-loving U. S. ambassador to Spain) fulfills the mission of an ambassador. Some criticize this policy as appeasement. The inexorable implication is that appeasement is something inherently evil, and that an expedient thing cannot be a good thing."

Spellman's support of the clerical-reactionary Franco dictatorship is of course not surprising. He is part and parcel of the Catholic hierarchy that is trying to rebuild the whole of Europe along the reactionary lines of the Franco dictatorship. The Pope himself waxes lyrical when he discusses the bloody Franco regime. The *Osservatore Romano*, official organ of the Vatican writes that the Franco government is a "model state."

But why does Roosevelt choose a Spellman as his personal envoy? Why does Roosevelt make an alliance with the Vatican, the world center of obscurantism and reaction? Only people who cherish illusions or who consciously seek to spread confusion are surprised. The program of Roosevelt and the State Department is the same rotten reactionary program as the program of Spellman and the Vatican. That is why Spellman's letters tell us so much about Roosevelt's real policies. That is why Roosevelt chooses Spellman as his personal envoy and concludes an alliance with the Vatican. Birds of a feather flock together.

"By the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws we can correct a historic mistake and silence the distorted Japanese propaganda. . .The Chinese quota would. . . be only about 100 immigrants a year. . .While it would give the Chinese a preferred status over certain other Oriental people, their great contribution to the cause of decency and freedom entitles them to such preference. . .Action by the Congress now will be an earnest of our purpose to apply the policy of the good neighbor to our relations with other peoples." (Excerpts from Roosevelt's Oct. 11 message to Congress on the Chinese exclusion laws.)

There are almost 500,000,000 Chinese in Asia. They will be greatly impressed by Roosevelt's generous offer to let 100 of them enter the U. S. each year. They will also feel highly honored by their "preferred status" over "certain other Oriental people" who, together with the Chinese, comprise half the world population.

Post-War Jobs

A great many workers do not believe that after the present world blood bath there will be "freedom from want" as promised by Roosevelt in the Atlantic Charter. They correctly expect that capitalism after the war, like capitalism before and during the war, will continue to bring fabulous wealth to America's Sixty Families, while the mass of the population lives in privation and misery.

In a recent Gallup poll, 58% of those interviewed expressed the opinion that the greatest post-war problem will be to get a job and find economic security. If in a general cross section of the population 58% believe that unemployment will be the major post-war problem, then an even bigger percentage of the workers must hold this same view.

There is far less inclination to accept as good coin the propaganda of Big Business in this war than was the case in 1917-18. Reports of conversations on the job, speeches at union meetings and conventions, the militant fight of the coal miners and the widespread mass support of the miners—all these and similar manifestations attest to the workers' distrust of Big Business and their growing realization of the need to fight in defense of their economic interests.

The workers went through a decade of mass unemployment before the war production began. Now that they are employed in the war industries, the government is driving down their standard of living by freezing wages while prices shoot upwards. And once the war production ends, capitalism can only plunge them back into mass unemployment.

Politically the workers still support Roosevelt, but their economic position drives them into an ever sharper clash with the capitalist class which Roosevelt represents. The end result of this contradiction can only be the mass radicalization of the American workers.

Sidelights Of Auto Workers Convention

By Harry Frankel

BUFFALO, Oct. 10 — The farsightedness of many of the delegates to the auto workers convention was illustrated by the speech of delegate Geiger from Flint Buick Local 599 on the resolution dealing with the organization of ex-servicemen. After pointing out that "the Manufacturers Association today is trying to give the American Legion fifty million dollars for the purpose of organizing the returned veterans," Geiger went on to say:

"I would like to see this resolution defeated here today and sent back to the committee so they can bring one out with some teeth in it and we can have a veterans' organization that will be a union organization and not one for the big shots in the automobile and other industries to play with."

* * *

R. J. Thomas, in reporting the attitude of the International Executive Board on the Little Steel formula, stated that: "the complete Board is opposed to the Little Steel formula."

One of the alternate delegates in the gallery muttered disgustedly: "Opposed... opposed! What are you going to do about it? That's what counts!"

* * *

Nat Ganley, Stalinist whip from Local 155 got his usual razzing at the convention. The delegates have developed a duck-like "quack quack" which is a perfect imitation of Ganley's voice, and they used it to good effect every time he got up to speak. Ganley earned every bit of razzing he got. It was obvious to nine-tenths of the convention that he led the most reactionary wing at the convention.

* * *

After the unsuccessful attempt of the leadership to ram a dues increase down the throats of the delegates, Secretary-Treasurer Addes approached the microphone and wisecracked: "A good try, anyhow." He couldn't say as much for the attempts of the leadership to raise wage-rates for the auto-workers.

* * *

The delegates wouldn't even let President Thomas speak on the question of a raise in dues. They defeated every proposal to go above the traditional buck a month and even proposed an amendment to take one-third of the present dollar a year assessment away from the international and keep it in the locals.

That's where Thomas really took a fit. He got the mike and made an agitated speech, ending up: "I beg of this convention, at the very least, to vote down the amendment. . ." He was really on his knees that time. But the delegates were only good-naturedly cuffing him a bit, and they let things stand the way they were.

* * *

During the discussion on the date for the next convention one of the delegates objected to a suggestion to hold the convention during one of the summer months on the ground that "any part of the month of August . . . is the very worst season for hay fever sufferers."

We sympathize with this delegate, but then, think of the international officers. They get 75 different kinds of fever every time the UAW has a convention.

* * *

Wednesday's **Daily Worker** reported: "The 'MILITANT,' Trotzkyite organ, was distributed as usual, and contains its usual Fifth Column poison." **As usual,** The Militant **was read with interest by hundreds of delegates, and as usual, it called every turn in advance.**

* * *

The leaders of both the Addes and the Reuther caucuses did their level best to stall the main issues, but the auto locals had their number. On Friday morning, the convention received the following telegram:

Detroit, Mich., Oct. — R. J. Thomas, CIO Convention, Buffalo. —Object to discussion of 2nd front. Discuss equalization of wages instead and kill Little Steel formula.—Chrysler Gun Plant.

* * *

When the Stalinists decided to try to sell the fink piece work system to the union movement, the first thing they did was find a new name for it. 'Piece work' is so universally hated, that the Stalinists use the term "incentive pay." But by the time the convention got into a discussion of the issue, even that term was discredited, and some of the speakers for piece work such as Vice-President Frankensteen were using a new term: "increased pay for increased output."

But the delegates to the UAW convention work by the old adage: No matter how you slice it, it's still boloney.

* * *

McHatton of Local 174 expressed the indignation of many of the delegates to the convention at the government runaround they get on their grievances. He said in the course of the discussion on piece work. "You have no agency whereby you can defend yourselves today."

"We have gone to all the agencies. We have been down to the Regional Board in Detroit. They sent it to Washington. It has been kicked back to Detroit. Now we are going to take it to Washington and it is a damned slow procedure and they let you sweat and the company rolls back in their swivel chair and laughs at you and says, "WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?"

* * *

One of the most applauded speeches in the convention was made by delegate Crump, Flint Buick Local 599. Speaking on the unprincipled character of the Addes-Frankensteen and Reuther-Leonard factions he said: "There is no need of kidding ourselves, delegates, if this report of the majority (on incentive pay) had come from the other side of the fence, then, by God, they would be fighting just as hard from the other side of the fence as they are against it. I know that, and you know it.

"I, as one individual delegate, am not on either side of the fence, and I don't give a damn who is elected, if they are all elected or all defeated. **Personally, I would like to see them clean out the whole political bunch."**

Workers' BOOKSHELF

RETREAT FROM ROSTOV by Paul Hughes. Random House, 1943. 586 pages, $2.75.

The first hint that German invincibility was a destructible legend came when the armies of Von Kliest were sent reeling back from Rostov in November 1941 by the aroused masses of that Soviet city and Red Army forces. This first disaster for the Germans and initial success of the Soviet Union serves as background for "Retreat from Rostov."

The author's intent is to portray the psychological changes going on behind the battlelines during the course of the struggle. On the Soviet side of the line, Mr. Hughes tries to disclose the secret of Soviet resistance in terms of personal motivation. Had the author succeeded in grasping the social forces that fire the resistance of the Soviet worker and peasant, his novel would have had first rate importance. Unfortunately, Mr. Hughes has squandered his modest talents by accepting a completely false version of Soviet resistance and Soviet society.

To begin with, he depicts the battle of Rostov as being lost because a fifth columnist, a Colonel Blazonny, is radioing vital military information to the Nazis. Blazonny barely escaped the purge of the Red Army staffs, and is ready to serve the enemy because promotion has been denied him since that time. The job of tracking down this traitor is in the hands of two "heroic" GPU agents, Boris Guidenny and Papushka, who also lead peasant guerrilla bands.

The actual job of killing the fifth columnist falls, symbolically, to one Kaaron Terenski, who represents the average Soviet citizen. At the beginning of the novel, she is simultaneously engaged in debating the virtues of two different hair-styles and in plunging into a love affair with a young musician. Inspired by her love for Tchaikowsky's music, the Don river, and the Rostov cathedral, she undergoes a transformation from an idler into a patriot. Her patriotism is of things Russian not Soviet. Her love is for the Russian earth and never entertains thoughts of the Russian revolution.

Once Kaaron has eliminated the fifth columnist, the doom of the Nazis is predestined, even though they fight their way into the city. Every window holds a sniper, every building is mined; food and water are poisoned. Bloody reprisals by the Germans fail to halt the resistance of Rostov. Life becomes unendurable for the Germans. The final blow to their morale is the killing of a group of Nazi officers inside the Rostov cathedral by machine guns attached to the organ. The organist turns out to be the musician who has been courting Kaaron.

Since Mr. Hughes' characters are symbolic types, his interpretation of Soviet events is clear. The original Soviet defeats were caused by traitors like Blazonny and the indifference of the general population represented by Kaaron and the young musician. However, inspired by the bravery of the two GPU agents—Stalin's emissaries—the citizens of Rostov arise and fight. Their motive for repelling the foreign invader is their love of Mother Russia.

An historical novel must have some degree of verisimilitude. It must not run counter to what we know about the society it describes. You would never grasp from Mr. Hughes' version of Soviet society that the corrupt and ruthless Stalin bureaucracy was responsible for the 1941-42 defeats of the Red Army.

He accepts the Stalinist fabrication that Tukhachevsky and his staff were fascist agents. **Naturally, he fails to understand that the mass purges of 1937-38 beheaded the Red Army; that the Soviet masses paid for the purges with two years of defeats, and that only from the crucible of war did a new military cadre emerge.**

There are in this novel clerks, hotel keepers, peasants, GPU agents, American correspondents, Timoshenko, the voice of Stalin—but no workers. Thus the proletarian backbone of Soviet resistance finds no place in Mr. Hughes' anatomy of Soviet morale. An art that fails to include and concretize the typical is worthless.

It is obvious that the presence of workers would have called for a different kind of book. Instead of Tchaikowsky and the Russian soul, the author would have been compelled to explain the Russian revolution and what it means to the Soviet workers. He would have been forced to explain the muted struggle between the bureaucracy and the workers. Mr. Hughes gives us puppets filled with Stalinist sawdust instead of a working class and peasantry defending the great remaining conquests of the October revolution.

Reviewed by David Ransom.

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Corporate Profits Go Up; Railroad Wages Stay Down

There is a vast difference between the financial well-being of the large railway companies and the plight of the railway workers who have so far been unable to obtain any wage increases.

Profit figures released by the Association of American Railroads reveal how profits have zoomed upward in the past year. At the same time the railway workers' living standards have been pressed down by higher prices and taxes.

According to these figures, Class I railroads had a net income of $159,614,334 higher for the first six months of 1943 than in the same period of 1942. Even with increased taxes, the big railway magnates report a rate of return on property investment of 6.06% as against 4.19% in 1942.

In reality, these figures actually conceal the skyrocketing of railway profits. The railroad companies have increased by tremendous amounts the salaries of their leading executives. They are in addition piling up the largest reserves in the history of the American railroad industry.

The railway unions have asked for wage increases to meet the soaring cost of living. The demands of the non-operating employees were whittled down to eight cents an hour by Roosevelt's emergency board. Then, with Roosevelt's backing, Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson refused to approve even this small increase.

Similarly the operating employees were handed the paltry offer of four cents an hour by the emergency board. Again Roosevelt and Vinson stand firm against even this pittance of an increase.

Thus the railway workers have been getting the run-around while the big corporations rake in extra profits. Six months of 1943 show over $150,000,000 extra profits for a small handful of railway barons, but not a single penny to the 1,300,000 railway workers.

Of course, this is termed "equality of sacrifice" by all the propagandists for the war. **But the cold facts demonstrate that this slogan is a hypocritical screen to conceal Roosevelt's program of fattening industry, and starving labor.**

Congress Plans Heavy New Tax Load On Low Incomes

The consensus of opinion at the hearings of the new tax bill before the House Ways and Means Committee is: 1) that Big Business cannot shoulder any appreciable portion of the new taxes, but, on the contrary must be relieved of some of the "confiscatory" taxes already legislated; and 2) **that the bulk of the taxes must come from the so-called "low income groups," preferably in the shape of a federal sales tax which,** as the N. Y. Times, Oct. 5, explains **would reach all those who "may not now be paying their fair share of income taxes."**

The Treasury Department has asked for an additional ten and a half billions in taxes. With billions in profits rolling in at an unprecedented rate, spokesmen of Big Business propose to raise the bulk of this huge sum through a "victory" sales tax of 10% and more. Mr. M. L. Seidman, speaking for the New York Board of Trade told the House Committee that while it was true that a sales tax "bore disproportionately upon those least able to pay," such a tax was eminently fair at this time. He said that if "ever a federal sales tax is justified, now is the time." (**N. Y. Times,** Oct. 6.) The representatives of the New York State Chamber of Commerce find that a sales levy "would not be over-burdensome." **The Times editors concur: "It seems clear therefore that the bulk of the new taxes must come from those earning under $5,000 and that they are in a position to pay them."** (N. Y. Times, Oct. 11.)

In summing up the hearings before the House Committee, the **N. Y. Times,** Oct. 9, gleefully predicted that any drastic revisions in the higher income tax schedules "are much more likely to be downward than upward." And as Godfrey N. Nelson, a financial expert, explained with a straight face such action is long overdue inasmuch as the "so-called rich are being liquidated." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 10.)

No burden is too great for the masses to bear in the opinion of these war-profiteers who are now mobilizing all their forces to make another deep slash in the living standards of the American people.

False Promises Will Not Liberate Philippines

The cause of Philippine independence is receiving these days special and almost simultaneous attention both in Washington and Tokio. On October 6 Roosevelt suddenly discovered that it was no longer necessary to wait until July 4, 1946 — the date previously set by Congress — in order to grant independence to the Filipino people, but asked for authorization to grant this independence "as soon as feasible," and for taking all "safeguards so that the United States might protect that independence as well as the island's economic security." (**N. Y. Times,** Oct. 7.)

On the very next day, Tokio announced by radio that the Philippines did not have to wait at all but would become independent on Oct. 14 as part of the Japanese "co-prosperity sphere" in Asia. This announcement was made in the name of "president-elect Jose P. Laurel" who was elected the week before at a specially convened "constitutional assembly." (**N. Y. Times,** Oct. 8.)

Washington of course brands the Tokio proclamation as a brazen fraud. Japanese propaganda is equally emphatic in denouncing Washington's pretended concern for the independence of the Philippines.

Both sides come closest to the truth when they warn the Filipino people not to trust the high-sounding promises and protestations made by the rival "guarantor."

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party